/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all, except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing. Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/140 cont./

241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

● 43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

/46 cont./

•43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
179 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
179 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
•43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.